



## THE LIBERATOR.

*The Liberator.*

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1862.

## CONCERNING THE LIBERATOR.

consummate flower of the young men and gentlemen of this vicinity; and so in various proportions of the other regiments.

You have seen, perhaps, the names of several of the best of our younger clergymen who have enlisted in the lowest offices, or in the ranks; you must have seen accounts of the magnificent, intrepid, tragic heroes of men of all like life—from Marshalls, farringers, and Penobscot lumberers to the men of the prairies and the frontier; and of our father's four sons, I can testify that there is not one who has not long and anxiously considered this past summer, whether his duty should require him to go or stay, who does not stand ready to answer the call when it is plainly made to him. And, with all the better class of recruits, there is but one spirit—infinitesimal and uncomplaining patience under all suffering, eagerness to be at their post, if kept from it by wounds or sickness, and unhesitating devotion to the object of the war.

Now I say, distinctly, that this spirit is absolutely unanimous among all those you think of who are sympathetic or respect, and that you ought to give it weight in your judgment. Summer, Phillips, Whittier, Bryant, Garrison, May—with shades of different temperament, are one in conviction. Can you see so much better than they all? Do you suppose they do not feel the infinite distress, horror, and agony of the war as well as you? Yet (to quote your phrase) one is seeking "an obvious reason for discontinuing a war which had brought no good," and could only bring trouble; except such crude callings—Lathrop and Fernando Wood, who are deep in a profligate conspiracy to restore this nation to the dominion of the Slave Power. We know that the only hope of deliverance from that power is to fight this fight through. If anything ever gives us a passing distrust of its issue, it is that the cause is not right, or the means are insufficient; but that sometimes the Government have not been in full sympathy with the nation; because officers (like Buell) have been trusted until their trust seemed crumpled and fretted away; and, not least, because this conspiracy had its fires deliberately fanned by those who had been absolutely trusted to be our friends in this awful contest.

If the slave empire of the South becomes the ruling power of this continent, it will not be because our hearts were faithless or our hands slack, but because British speculators have furnished the cannon and shell to murder our boys in the field; because 290 British merchants have subscribed to put pirate ships afloat to weary us into despair by the ruin of our commerce; because the British Government allows shelter to the rebels while they are away the Tuscarnora, and at this moment (of the Liverpool trial) tell the (still suffering) iron-clad fleet to be outfitted, in open daylight and boastfully, to make our defense of freedom hopeless. If it had not been for that "moral support" which the Times boasts is all but universal in the English nation, we all fully believe the rebellion would have been at an end last spring.

Again, you should know that there has never been a moment when peace could have been had on easy terms, that would not have put this nation at the mercy of the South.

The specific charge against the Republicans, which I just saw in a Boston paper,

is that they did not secure peace by guaranteeing slavery perpetual in the Constitution, and extending it over half the territories.

As to a division of territory, it would have been avowedly accepted by the North as a baffled and beaten power—the world, and the South, and we, and you would have known it to be so. And they would have needed no division that did not carry them to the Pennsylvania line, and within one hundred miles of the lakes, and within them all Missouri and Kansas. Now, at least, we have secured Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, half Virginia, Missouri, and the great West to freedom—a territory at least as fertile, and five or six times as great as all England and France—which, as the world goes, is no small compensation for a year of war. Besides this, we think we have, by securing the Mississippi, saved you and yourselves from the remorse and disgrace of having a freebooting slave empire in control of the Gulf; and the Spanish Main—that disaster is saved already; is that nothing? And we think, too, that slavery itself is fatally shaken, and will not survive this war.

Now, can you remember a war in history in which the results for humanity were so great and plain as these? We know, if you do not, that the war was the only price by which they could have been had—our only alternative for shame, guilt, and contempt. And so we have given money and blood unstinting, and shall continue to do it, as long as that ends is had in view; that is, till that there is won, or till that proslavery democracy, whose principles are right and echoed in your religious papers, has succeeded in dividing and defeating us, and reducing us to a sullen and infidel despair. Pray let your next words be such as to help our English brothers to see this thing in its true light!

## THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

When we had occasion, a short time since, to comment on the extraordinary concession by Boston Republican paper of a right on the part of the State of Massachusetts, and any other State, to establish human slavery within its borders, we did not expect so soon to meet with a recognition of property in man from a higher quarter, from one whom, last of all, we should have looked for it. But such is the case. It is with irreproachable gain and mortification that the President of the United States, for the greater part of his life the inhabitant of a free State, the chosen leader of a party which is based on the denial of the right of slavery, and whose fundamental principle has always been that the right of property in human beings was not recognized in the Federal Constitution, after a war of two years for the perpetuation of that institution, in which he has indeed shown that he has learned much, still in his official capacity, and in his official message—a document which will be read throughout the civilized world—admits that there is a right of property in man which it would be wrong for him to interfere with, without compensating the alleged owners for depriving them of it. Such an admission, from such a source, fills us, we say, with sorrow, almost with indignation, and tends far more than would any disaster to our armies in the field to make us fear for the ultimate success of the cause of the Union.

The President shows in his Message that he fully understands that slavery is the cause of the rebellion; that by slavery it is upheld; and that slavery must be destroyed before there can be any hopes of a restoration of the Union, or of peace and harmony between its now conflicting sections. This he understands, and sets forth in his peculiar style with much force. But, so strong are the prejudices he has imbibed from his youth up, in regard to the enslaved race, so one-sided have been the sources of information from which he has formed his opinions, so much he has been under the control of influences favorable to slavery, that he has not yet learned to discard totally and entirely the doctrine that one man can rightfully hold another in bondage, and that the exercise of the power to do so by the stronger over the weaker, gives the former a right of property which others are bound to respect. If the President had studied both sides of the question, we feel sure that he now would have written the passage in his Message. If a race of white men had been made slaves in the South, and had aided by their labor in augmenting the resources of those who were endeavoring to subvert the Government, he could not have hesitated an instant in striking off every fetter, and calling on every man, woman and child held in bondage to assert their liberty. But, alas! though the slaves of the rebels have as stout muscles, though they are as competent to cultivate the soil, to wield the spade or to direct the musket as any other race under the sun, and though their very inherent docility is an additional guarantee to their owners against danger from them, as it would be against danger to the country from setting them free were they only treated with common humanity; yet they are black, they are degraded, they are ignorant, they are helpless, they need guidance and aid from their superiors, and it is for this reason that a man of so good intentions as Abraham Lincoln still remains involved in the sophistries and fallacies of the monstrous doctrine of the right of property in man.

We can only fear the judges from a panel of what Mr. Lincoln had previously said, we should not have expected him to express any such sentiments as those on which we are commenting. In his debates with Mr. Douglas in 1858, when, as he said, no one ever dreamed of seeing him President of the United States, he frequently expressed his conviction of the natural right of every man to freedom. "I believe," says he in one speech, "each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases

with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights." In another speech he said: "In relation to the principle, that all men are created equal, let it be as nearly reached as we can. If we cannot give freedom to every creature, let us not give that will impinge slavery upon any other creature." Again, speaking of the negro, he said, "On the right can the head without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand has earned, he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man." He defied any man to show that the negro was not included in the Declaration of Independence. He expressed his belief that "the right of property in a slave is not distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution." Language was not used in it "suggesting that slavery existed, or that the black race were among us." And he said that "the sentiment which contemplates the institution of slavery as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republic party."

If the President had recalled the frame of mind in which he uttered these sentiments, he would never have so lamentably contradicted them as he has in his Message. His intellect would never have been so obscured as it now is, and we should have seen action long before now as would have long and crushed the rebellion, but to end to slavery and restore peace to the country.

The war has not only crippled the circulation of the newspaper press generally, but it has produced such a scarcity in the materials for making printing paper, owing chiefly to the failure of the cotton crop—that the price per ream is now more than doubled, with a strong probability of a further upward tendency for some time to come. The consequence must be, universally, either a diminution in the size of the sheet or in the quantity of reading matter, or else a proportionate increase in the subscription price. Another alternative is, speedy extinction. In numerous cases, a stern necessity will doubtless compel the acceptance of the last, especially by weekly newspapers, as comparatively few of these have, hitherto, been able to preserve more than a precarious existence. It was the extra ounce that broke the camel's back: in this case, it is a ton's weight, instead of an ounce.

In common with all other publishers, we find ourselves in a very tight place. Our subscription list has been seriously reduced, by various causes, during the last year; and this, alone, is a source of pecuniary embarrassment. To attempt to go on at the same rate, with this loss, with the enormous advance in the price of printing paper, and with no immediate prospect of extending our circulation, would inevitably terminate the publication of the *Liberator* at an early date. On the other hand, to increase the terms to \$30 per annum,—which, supposing our present list of subscribers should remain firm, would barely cover the additional cost of the white paper,—may cause such a further diminution in the number of our patrons as to hasten the same fatal result. The first course, if pursued, is certain suppression; the second furnishes the only chance of continuance. In these trying circumstances, we cannot hesitate which to adopt. The price of the *Liberator*, therefore, at the commencement of the new year, will be enhanced fifty cents per annum, until the market value of printing paper is restored to its normal condition. Other weekly papers throughout the country have been obliged to make a similar advance in their own case.

This is a simple statement of our situation, and our readers can easily cipher out the absolute necessity for this change in our terms. We have no personal feeling whatever as to the continuance or suppression of the *Liberator*. Its publication was commenced without a subscriber, and it will give us no mortification should it end without one. Its whole career testifies to the fact, that its sole, paramount, absorbing object has been an uncompromising advocacy of the cause of immediate and universal emancipation, without regard to the extent of its circulation. On no consideration have we suppressed, diluted, or avoided the truth. We have never yet sought to win or retain the patronage of any man. Whatever has been done, at any time, in support of the paper, has been done spontaneously, for its own estimated value as a fearless, impartial, independent anti-slavery journal, and not in response to any personal appeal from us: for we have made no such appeal. If it has accomplished its mission, let its publication cease: we ask no personal consideration whatever. Whoever would make any reformatory movement subservient to his own selfish ease, vain conspicuity, or pecuniary advantage, is undeserving of the slightest respect or confidence.

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Our nation is prosperous beyond precedent, and is in no small degree civilized, Christian and free. Yet a furious civil war is raging. This springs not, as some fools suppose, from the excitement of passions, but from the conflict of ideas. An idea is here contending, deep at the heart of Jesus, one which has been resisting its opposites ever since he died on Calvary. Two radical philosophies, giving opposite views of man, his nature and his rights, and therefore of the nature and the rights of society, of political economy, morals and religion, are here contending for sovereignty. The question is not whether North or South shall govern, but whether the system of ideas respecting man, society and government which prevail at the North or at the South, shall hold permanent sway.

If this Proclamation were another attempt to frighten the enemy, this also was a thorough failure. It had the good effect of immediately freeing a certain small proportion of the slaves, and it may be made to operate very effectively against the rebels after the advent of 1863, if the President shall choose so to use it. But the remarkable and peculiar circumstance is that he did not choose to use this power of emancipation, as he might have done, for the effective present aid of the Federal armies. He might specially have doubled his own forces by the use of black volunteers, at the same time diminishing enormously the resources of the enemy; and besides this, he might immediately have diminished the enemies' arms at Richmond by one-half, withdrawing at least that proportion of the slaves of the army and navy.

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## INTERESTING LETTER FROM MISS CHARLOTTE L. FORTEN.

St. HELENA'S ISLAND, BEAUFORT, S. C.

Nov. 27, 1862.

Dear Mr. GARRETTSON—I shall commence this letter by very nearly the same words since—"To-day, for the first time since leaving home, I have been allowed the privilege of reading the *Liberator*." But I must claim that, in my case, the privilege must be a greater one than in his, for he was only in New York, while I am in South Carolina. However, we shall both be at liberty to dispute about it. I cannot tell you what a pleasure it is to see this paper. It is of an old date—Oct. last—but it is not the less welcome for that.

I must tell you that the little Baptist church is beautifully situated in a grove of live oaks. Looking through the windows, on every side one sees these singularly beautiful trees. They are evergreen: the leaf is a rich, dark, glossy green, much smaller than our oak leaf; and from every branch hangs a most exquisite and graceful drapery of gray moss. These pendants are sometimes three or four feet in length. This fantastic moss suggests many different simileswitches' hair, patriarchal beards, and, walking through a grove of these trees just at sunset, a few evenings ago, where the branches formed a perfect ceiling overhead, these wonderful mosses recalled the stalactites which I saw once in a fine panorama of the Mammoth Cave. The last rays of the sun lighting them up converted them into almost perfect stalactites, as they appeared in the illuminated picture; and if these lacked the sparkling crystals of the rock, they made up for the loss by their exquisite and airy grace.

A mile from the Baptist church, in another beautiful grove of live oaks, is the Episcopal church, in which the aristocracy of the island used to worship.

It is much smaller than the other, but possesses an organ, which, unlike the other musical instruments in this region, is not hopelessly out of order. The building is not used as a place of worship now, as it is much too small.

Our school is kept in the Baptist church. There are two ladies teaching in it, beside myself. They are earnest workers, and have done and are constantly doing a great deal for the people here, old and young. One of them, Miss T., is physician as well as teacher. She has a very extensive medical practice, and carries about with her everywhere her box of medicines. The people welcome her as a ministering angel to their lowly cabins. Our school averages between eighty and ninety pupils, and later in the season we shall probably have more. It is very pleasant to see how bright, how eager to learn many of the children are. Some of them make wonderful improvement in a short time. It is a great happiness, a great privilege to be allowed to teach them. I thank God for giving to the freed people of New England a leader like General Saxon—a man thoroughly good and true, so nobly and earnestly devoted to their interests. I think he is loved and appreciated as he ought to be by them.

In accordance with his Proclamation, this was observed as "a day of thanksgiving and praise." An order had been issued, that the Superintendent of each plantation should have an animal killed, that the people might, to-day, eat fresh meat, which is a great luxury to them—and, indeed, to all of us here. This morning, a large number, superintendents, teachers, and many of the freed people, assembled in the Baptist church. Gen. Saxon and his brother, Captain Saxon, were present. The church was crowded, and there were many outside, at the doors and windows, who could not get in. It was a sight that I shall not soon forget—that crowd of eager, happy black faces, from which the shadow of slavery had passed forever.

"FOREVER FREE! FOREVER FREE!" All the time those magical words were singing themselves in my soul, and never in my life before have I felt so deeply and sincerely grateful to God. It was a moment of exaltation, such as comes but seldom in one's life, in which I sat among the people assembled on this lovely day to thank God for the most blessed and glorious of all gifts.

The singing was, as usual, very beautiful. These people have really a great deal of musical talent. It is impossible to give you an idea of many of their songs and hymns. They are so wild, so strange, and yet so invariably harmonious and sweet, they must be heard to be appreciated. And the people accompany them with a peculiar swaying motion of the body, which seems to make the singing all the more effective. There is one of their hymns—"Roll, Jordan, roll," that I never listen to without seeming to feel, almost to feel, the rolling of waters. There is a great rolling wave of sound through it all.

The singing, to-day, was followed by an appropriate prayer and sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Phillips, who is an excellent New England man, and a minister much liked by the people. After the sermon, General Saxon made a short but very spirited speech, urging the young men of the island to enlist in the colored regiments now forming at Beaufort under Col. T. W. Higginson. That was the first intimation I had had of Mr. Higginson being down here. I am greatly rejoiced therewith. He seems to me, of all fighting men, the one best fitted to command a regiment of blacks.

The mention of his name recalled most vividly the happy days passed last summer in good old Massachusetts, when, day after day in the streets of Worcester, we used to see the indefatigable Capt. Higginson driving his white company. I never saw him,—so full of life and energy, so thoroughly enjoying his work,—without thinking what a splendid general he would make. And that, too, may come about. Gen. Saxon has a short but very spirited speech, urging the young men of the island to enlist in the colored regiments now forming at Beaufort under Col. T. W. Higginson. That was the first intimation I had had of Mr. Higginson being down here. I am greatly rejoiced therewith. He seems to me, of all fighting men, the one best fitted to command a regiment of blacks.

The plantation on which we live was owned by a man whom all the people unite in calling a "hard master." And his wife, it is said, was even more cruel than himself. When the negroes were ill, their scanty allowance of food was entirely withheld from them; and even after they had begun to recover, were kept half-starved for some time—as a punishment for daring to be ill, I suppose.

The people were severely whipped for the slightest offence, real or only suspected. If a sow or anything else on the plantation was missed, and the thief could not be discovered, every slave would receive a number of lashes. They were wretchedly clothed. One poor woman had her feet and limbs so badly frozen from exposure, that she was obliged to have both legs amputated above the knee. She is living here now, and is one of the best women on the plantation.

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The mention of his name recalled most vividly the happy days passed last summer in good old Massachusetts, when, day after day in the streets of Worcester, we used to see the indefatigable Capt. Higginson driving his white company.

I never saw him,—so full of life and energy, so thoroughly enjoying his work,—without thinking what a splendid general he would make. And that, too, may come about. Gen. Saxon has a short but very spirited speech, urging the young men of the island to enlist in the colored regiments now forming at Beaufort under Col. T. W. Higginson. That was the first intimation I had had of Mr. Higginson being down here. I am greatly rejoiced therewith. He seems to me, of all fighting men, the one best fitted to command a regiment of blacks.

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## Poetry.

## THY WILL BE DONE.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We see not, know not, all our way  
Is night—with These alone is day:  
From out the torrent's troubled drift,  
Above the storm our prayers we lift,

They will be done!

The flesh may fail, the heart may faint,  
But who are we to make complain,  
Or dare to plead in times like these?  
The weakness of our love of ease?

They will be done!

We take with solemn thankfulness  
Our bairns up, nor ask it less,  
And count it joy that even we  
May suffer, serve, or wait for Thee,

Who will be done!

Though dim as yet in tint and line,  
We trace Thy picture's wise design,  
And thank Thee that our age supplies  
The dark relief of sacrifice.

They will be done!

And if, in our unworthiness,  
Thy sacrificial wine we press,  
If from Thy ordeal's heated bars  
Our feet are seamed with crimson scars,

They will be done!

If, for the age to come, this hour  
Of trial hath vicarious power,  
And, bled by Thee, our present pain  
Be Liberty's eternal gain,

They will be done!

From the Salem Observer.

**"THE LORD IS OUR KING."**  
God of the Nations! o'er our land  
Shed thy protecting power;  
Let freedom's voice at thy command  
Rule sovereign of the hour.

When dark Rebellion's lowering mien  
Sends forth her tempest frown,  
The Star of Peace o'er shadowing strain  
To hurl her altars down;

To rend the sacred chain which holds  
Our land united, free—  
And plant, 'mid its disrobed folds,  
The rod of Tyranny;

Those who the stormy winds canst break,  
Whose lashing surges roar,  
Chain every heart that dares to wake  
Contusion on our shore.

So hallowed by the kindred breath  
Of those who nobly tread  
The road to famine, fear and death,  
For Freedom and their God.

The glory of their sleeping dust  
Lies hidden in the soil  
That binds a nation to its trust  
In fades not purity.

Bright monuments of Faith and Hope,  
Forever may they stand  
Entwined amid the stony strand  
Above the sea-beat strand.

God of our strength, our Country bless,  
To thee her cause we bring—  
With Sword and Crown of righteousness  
Be thou the Conqueror, King.

## GOD SAVE OUR PRESIDENT!

BY E. S. BARBOCK.

God save our President!  
Mid perils imminent,  
Guide thou his hand;  
Oh! while the storm-clouds lower,  
Of treason's threatening power,  
In this her darkest hour,  
God save our land!

God save our President!  
May grace omnipotent  
Direct his life;  
May he enforce our laws;  
Nor, in this fearful pause,  
Yield freedom's sacred cause  
To party strife.

God save our President!  
Trustful and confident,  
Thy time we wait;  
When he with Right shall stand,  
And, with uplifted hand,  
Proclaim through all the land,  
EMANCIPATE!

God save our President!  
Soon will the sight be open,  
Light sheds its rays;  
Freedom shall be the dawn  
To Union's glorious morn;  
Then, when sweet peace is born,  
Thine be the praise!

Southampton, I.L.

## HOMELESS.

It is cold, dark midnight, yet listen  
To that patter of tiny feet!  
It is one of your dogs, fair lady,  
Who whines in the bleak, cold street?—

It is one of your silken spaniels  
Shut out in the snow and the sleet?

My dogs sleep warm in their baskets,  
Safe from the darkness and snow;  
All the beats in our Christian England  
Find pity wherever they go—

(These are only the homeless children  
Who are wandering to and fro.)

Look out in the gusty darkness—  
I have seen it again and again,  
That shadow, that fits so slowly  
Up and down past window pane:

It is surely some criminal lurking  
Out there in the frozen rain!

Nay, our criminals are all sheltered,  
They are pitied and taught and fed;  
That is only a sister woman  
Who has got neither food nor bed—

And the Night cries "sin to be living,"  
And the River cries "sin to be dead."

Look out at that farthest corner  
Where the walls stand blank and bare:  
Can that be a pack which a pedlar  
Has left and forgotten there?

His goods lying out unheeded  
Will be spoilt by the damp night air.

Nay—goods in our thrifty England  
Are not left to grow rotten,  
For each man knows the market value  
Of silk or woolens or cotton—

But in counting the riches of England,  
I think our Poor are forgotten.

Our Beasts and our Thieves and our Chaffers  
Have weight for good or for ill;  
But the Poor are only His image,  
His presence, His word, His will—

And so Lazarus lies at our door-step,  
And Dives neglects him still.

## SPIRIT-FRIENDS.

O could we all the world forget,  
And bear the truth without disguise,

Our hearts might have the love-tones yet  
Of spirit-friends in Paradise.

## THE LIBERATOR.

## The Liberator.

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. AND MR. BUXTON, M. P.

On the 13th ultimo, George Thompson, Esq., late M. P. for the Tower Hamlets, delivered, in the hall of the Corn Exchange, Maidstone, an address on the civil war in America, with special reference to the speech recently made by Mr. Buxton, M. P., at the dinner of the Maidstone Agricultural Association. The Rev. R. E. B. McClellan presided, and on the platform were Mr. G. Edgett, Mayor; Mr. F. Douglass, Mr. G. Kemp, Mr. Swinfin, Mr. T. Wells, Mr. Rock, Mr. Ball, &c. The hall was densely crowded.

The Chairman briefly introduced Mr. Thompson.

Mr. Thompson then came forward, and was received with loud and prolonged cheering. When the applause had subsided—

Mr. Thompson said he had come to Maidstone to offer some remarks at variance with the sentiments which Mr. Buxton had recently delivered. Mr. Buxton was a gentleman justly respected, and he (Mr. Thompson) had known and respected him long before he had become acquainted with the borough. Mr. Thompson then proceeded to say, that for thirty years, he had been engaged in the discussion of the slavery question, and that he had been throughout the States of America, and had seen the working of slavery there. These, he submitted, were his qualifications for presuming to rectify the opinions which had been expressed by one of their members. (Cheers.) With regard to the speech that had been referred to, he said this to say, that it was a correct view of the present state of the question, then his thirty years' study had been in vain, and if the Hon. gentleman was right, then (Mr. Thompson) was entirely wrong. (Interruption.) Let those who interrupted attend to what he said. If Mr. Buxton, however, had stated that which was true, then he (Mr. Thompson) knew nothing of the subject; but if that which he was about to state was the truth, then Mr. Buxton was wholly ignorant of the subject he had discussed. (Applause.) The present state of things in America, he contended, the fruit of the accursed system of slavery—vile institution which we had abolished in our own dependencies. (Cheers.) Mr. Buxton had informed them that he was unable to discover that the war had anything to do with slavery. What was the history of the origin and cause of the present struggle? When the Declaration of Independence had been promulgated, slavery existed more or less throughout the thirteen States; but, before the Constitution was adopted, it was abolished, either immediately or gradually, in all the States North of Maryland. At the time of the Constitution, there had been seven free States and six slave States—the latter being Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Maryland, and Delaware. As soon as the Union had been formed, the Southern States, well knowing that an increase of territory and of States would add to their political power, proceeded to divide the existing States, and to form new ones. Thus Kentucky had been formed out of Virginia, and Alabama and Mississippi out of Georgia and North Carolina. These new States had then been brought into the Union, and the Slave Power was therefore greatly increased. But, not satisfied with this, they obtained the purchase, by the Federal Government, of Louisiana, a vast territory stretching from the mouth of the Mississippi, along the whole valley of that mighty river, to the very base of the Rocky Mountains. Out of this territory, the State of Louisiana proper had been formed, and a new slave State brought into the Union. The next step had been the purchase of Florida from Spain, adding another slave State to the Union. Thus slavery had pursued its career of aggrandizement, but it was from no love of slavery on the part of the North.

When he had been first in America, the pro-slavery feeling of the North had been stronger than at any former time; but, even then, their concessions to the South had arisen from the fact, not that they hated slavery less, but that they had loved the Union more.

The speaker alluded to several circumstances, which he contended proved that, in the opinion of the American people, the proclamation meant the abolition of slavery. He would not, however, rest his demand that the sympathy of England should be given to the North solely on the ground of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation.

He would call attention to what had been done during the short period Mr. Lincoln had been in power. (Cheers.) Slavery and the slave trade had been driven out of the District of Columbia, which was the seat of Government. (Loud applause.) The black republics of Hayti and Liberia had been recognized, and now the colored ministers from those States could appear at Washington upon a footing of equality with the ambassadors from Russia, France, and England. (Cheers, and a voice, "They won't let a black man sit in the house of God.") He did not think it was generous, when he was making a reference to the noble conduct of President Lincoln in recognizing two negro republics, to reproach the people of America with their prejudice against color. No man had rebuked that prejudice with greater severity than he had done, but justice demanded that he should say that the worst persecutors of the negro at the present time, and for many years, had been the native-born citizens of America, but those who had been subjects of the British Crown, and had emigrated to the United States. The colored man at this moment was at least treated with respect, if not with equality. Jim Crow cars had been abolished—district schools had been thrown open for colored children—and he knew Governors of States who would contend for that right. Let those who wanted information on this point read the two masterly essays published by Mr. Motley in the columns of the *Times*, when the secession first broke out, and the opinions which had issued from the pen of Mr. John Stuart Mill, one of the greatest thinkers of the age, or the speeches of Daniel Webster, the greatest constitutional Jurist America had produced. Constitutional secession was an absurdity. (Cheers.) Before the Constitution had been adopted, each State was sovereign, but the Union called upon each State to merge its individual sovereignty in a common nationality, and from that time the people of the several States became one people under a Constitution which provided that those who sought its overthrow should be punished as guilty of treason. No Constitution in the world had ever been framed with a view to its own dissolution. (Cheers.) There was always a revolutionary right to secede, and a corresponding obligation resting on the servants of the Constitution to repress such a revolution, and to punish its abettors.

Mr. Thompson then resumed his narrative of the growth of the Slave Power in America, especially referring to the Missouri compromise, the Mexican war, and the annexation of Texas, and the resistance offered to the admission of California into the Union as a free State. He also referred to the monopoly of the government of the country by the election of slaveholding Presidents, during sixty-eight years of the Union, to the exclusion of men of Northern birth, who, in the instances in which they were elevated to the chair, were compelled to pledge themselves beforehand to be the servile instruments of their Southern supporters. After particularly alluding to Gen. Pierce and Mr. Buchanan, he traced the rise and growth of the anti-slavery political party in the North. That party were able to give only 156,000 votes in 1842, when they nominated Mr. Hale, but the same party, in 1856, cast 1,300,000 votes in favor of Colonel Fremont. The causes which led to this extraordinary augmentation of the anti-slavery party were the measures which the South had carried in the interval—such as the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, the horrors of which the speaker vividly depicted; the payment of \$10,000,000 to Texas to reimburse that State for its spoliation of the territory of Mexico; the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, by which the barrier to the extension of slavery was destroyed; the brutal assaults upon Mr. Sumner and other members of Congress at Washington, and the decision obtained from the Judges of the Supreme Court, (a majority of whom were slaveholders,) that slavery was constitutional in every part of the Union, whether in the States or Territories. The election of Mr. Buchanan had placed the pro-slavery party in power for four years, but the strength displayed by the Northern party convinced the South the period of their domination was drawing to a close. The South determined, therefore, to make preparations for a dissolution of the Union and the establishment of a separate Confederacy. The traitors in Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet resolved that the Republicans should elect their candidate in 1860, he should not have the means of resisting successfully the rebel movement of the South. They corrupted the United States army; they scattered to distant places the United States navy; they robbed the national treasury; they emptied the arsenals and armaments of the North, and transferred their contents to the South; they withdrew the garrisons from the forts in the South, in order that the defences of the country might more easily fall into the hands of the rebels. As soon as they had struck their mediation blow, they seized upon every sub-treasury, every mint, custom-house, revenue cutter, arsenal, dock-

yard, ship and Government storehouse, together with every fort and all other descriptions of national property. (Applause.) They then organized a Government for the express purpose of maintaining the inviolability of negro slavery, which they made the chief cornerstone of their new republic.

After some further remarks, explaining the action

of the South, Mr. Thompson said he would direct his attention to that portion of Mr. Buxton's speech in which he said the North hated the South. Mr. Buxton said that "every traveller for many years past who ever went into the North told us how they (the North) abhorred the South." (Hear.) He would observe, in passing, that this assertion was scarcely consistent with what Mr. Buxton had said in the same speech—namely, that "the North was eager with both hands to throw overboard the negroes, if the South would hold to the Union"; and again, that the North "suggested compromise after compromise on the question of the extinction of slavery to induce them to stay." Now, as to the North hating the South, he (Mr. Thompson) had twice visited and travelled through the Northern States, and he had besides read, he believed, the works of every distinguished traveller in America during the last thirty years, and upon their authority, as well as upon that of his own experience, he would offer a flat contradiction to Mr. Buxton's statement. His (the speaker's) charge against the North had always been, that it had been too anxious to conciliate by compromise and concession the good opinion and friendship of the South. (Cheers.) He might challenge Mr. Buxton to show that any Southern man had ever been insulted at the North. He challenged him to quote from the work of any traveller of authority any proof of the hatred he had alleged. 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